

# Peace News

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 1,139 April 25, 1958 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

## LABOUR AND THE H-BOMB

The contradictions of Crossman

By EMRYS HUGHES, MP

REPLYING to what he called the severe public criticisms of the foreign policy of the Labour Party by Mr. Dean Acheson, the former United States Secretary of State, Mr. Hugh Gaitskell said:

"We sometimes feel that Mr. Dean Acheson and others like him are frozen in the postures of 1949 and are indifferent to the developments that have taken place since then."

When Dean Acheson was in office he was closely associated with Ernest Bevin who at the time was our Foreign Secretary.

They worked together to set up the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and for years what Dean Acheson said was accepted by Ernest Bevin, and was also the foreign policy of the Labour Government.

But as Mr. Gaitskell rightly pointed out, we are not in 1949 today. The H-bomb had not been invented then. But now we are in the age of the H-bomb, and all that it implied had not been apparent to Ernest Bevin. He believed that the establishment of NATO would mean greater security for Britain, that it would mean reducing our armaments bill, that we would be in a position to negotiate with, if not dictate to, Russia from a position of strength.

But today Russia has the H-bomb, a powerful air force, rockets which can be sent into the skies and travel around the earth, the inter-continental ballistic missile, a large fleet of submarines and atomic weapons of many kinds.

NATO has not brought invulnerability or security to Britain. We are in more deadly danger than ever, and there is not the slightest reason for believing we are winning the arms race. Indeed, if it goes on for another ten years, with Russia advancing technologically as she has done in the last ten, she may well have forged ahead.

The arrival of the H-bomb has forced the Labour Party to re-examine its foreign policy.

We are living in a different world from the one in which Ernest Bevin was our Foreign Secretary.

And Mr. Gaitskell's remark that we cannot be frozen in the postures of 1949

★ ON BACK PAGE

### Backed by PPU

The following emergency resolution was passed at the PPU AGM:

"That this Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union expresses its full support for those trade union branches which declare their intention to refuse to do any work connected with the manufacture of nuclear weapons or the construction of rocket bases in Britain."

# YOU ARE NOT POWERLESS

Comfort and Niemoeller call for action against nuclear war

Peace News Reporter

DR. MARTIN NIEMÖLLER and Dr. Alex Comfort last Sunday called on the pacifist movement to rise to the challenge presented by the nuclear threat to humanity. They were speaking at the public meeting at the close of the 21st Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union.

"Today we find ourselves in a situation which has never existed before," Dr. Alex Comfort told the rally at Friends' House, London. People were now moving, he said, toward a readiness to withhold their support from war.

Since that readiness was the sole written basis of the Peace Pledge Union, it now had the chance to become politically effective.

### Mr. Macmillan and pacifists

The acknowledgements of respect for pacifists from "the Establishment" was not a cause of comfort. By being an opposition that could be controlled, the pacifist movement had become an "insurance policy" against an effective public resistance to war.

"I don't wonder that Mr. Macmillan respects our point of view. He does not fear a thousand articulate objectors, who talk, so much as one inarticulate mutineer who may not object to all wars, abstractly considered, but who acts, or refuses to act."

Because of nuclear weapons, public opinion had begun to move, in the beginning, largely without the pacifists. But once moving, "the gap which has so assiduously opened between pacifists and their neighbours is beginning to close. We have a greater chance of leadership and of political significance than ever before, and I believe we are taking it to the full."

The public was responding, not to a call to abolish all war as a matter of human duty, but to a call to abolish nuclear war as a matter of human survival.

"We should not be confusing it or canting at it. We should be leading it and instigating it. In . . . fact, we are doing so."

The pacifist tradition of "civil non-violence" may have much to contribute to this campaign, for with the attempts of political parties to capture, stifle or shunt the agitation for their own private ends, the need will become increasingly pressing for a means by which ordinary folk can express their resistance . . .

### Nuclear suicide

"In civil disobedience they may be able to find those means."

The Government would strive to push the argument back to traditional pacifist lines, but "there can be no going back."

"Everyone is sick of acquiescence in policies he knows in his heart to be vile. Let him experience his own ability to refuse. Let him act for once with others, upon an issue of principle."

"Let the illusion of individual powerlessness, in which he has so long been encouraged, break down and other things besides H-bombs will be removed from our public life."

"The rebellion against nuclear suicide is part of a far wider struggle, of men against inhumanity, nor war only," he said.

The public was learning its own strength and public anger was developing.

"It is anger against the whole ill-conditioned growth of cant, inhumanity and double-talk in office, against collusion between party leaderships, against leaders with a vested interest in international strife because they cannot think of a policy to put in its place."

Industrial action and civil disobedience were required.

"Let us get on with the job for which this organisation was founded. We renounce war; let us exert ourselves to turn

that renunciation into politically effective resistance now while the weather and the opportunity hold."

"The renunciation of war is the most important thing in the world at the moment," Minnie Pallister told the meeting.

"We never need to apologise for being in a minority. We can be proud of our pacifism."

"Nothing has ever been done unless you have had a certain number of people who were fanatics about that particular thing."

Dr. Martin Niemöller told the audience: "For a long time we pacifists have been looked upon as people lacking courage and activity, as being people prepared to accept the doom of fate rather than ward off its powers by risking our lives."

"But this is a revolutionary world . . . In these days pacifists . . . are the only active people and the active people are becoming pacifists."

Power itself had turned into weakness.

"Thus what we all need is an active pacifism which will not be satisfied with just rejecting and outlawing war, but which will put all its emphasis on establishing, improving and consolidating peace."

### Time of responsibility

"These are times of great opportunities. It has been said: 'Times of great perplexities are, at the same time, times of great opportunities.'"

"I want to continue that sentence and say: 'Times of great opportunity are times of an even greater responsibility.'"

"And this responsibility is thus the one that rests on us."

"It is evident that somebody must start the new way; that somebody must renounce the former means of getting what he wants, and replace them by the means of persuasion and explanation, and, if need be, of passive resistance, or non-violent resistance."

Therefore, "the most strict form of pacifism we can imagine" must be tried. "Only a total basic peace leaves any prospect of avoiding total war and total ruin."

At the opening session of the PPU AGM on Saturday the Mayor of St. Pancras, Alderman Redman, praised the PPU: "You are ambassadors of peace. Can anything be more admirable?"

The Mayor reminded the meeting that he had served a good many years in the armed forces. "But," he declared, "I think it is only movements of this description that may one day bring peace to the world."

"A little while ago in the Council Chamber I was called all sorts of things because I did not invite the Civil Defence Corps to a service on Remembrance Day."

"But the Borough Council considered that the Defence Corps should be disbanded, and we promptly disbanded it, because we realised that what is called defence in these days only leads to war."

The Mayor had been introduced to the meeting by Michael Tippet, the new president of the Peace Pledge Union. After the Mayor's talk composer Michael Tippet spoke of the problem of how pacifists whose conviction arises "from the deep-seated inner conviction of inner things" could put over their basic policy during a period in which people are for other reasons sympathetic to their basic approach.

Pacifism is now widely discussed and mentioned—not simply as a nasty word—but as a valid and reasonable possible policy for this country.

The problem was how to combine inner feeling with an outgoing policy.

See also page five



## Our legal correspondent replies to the question WHAT IS THE OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT?

THE article in the special H-bomb issue of the Oxford University Magazine "Isis," which related alleged incidents on the borders of the Soviet Union with the purpose of inciting the Russians to expose their defences, has created in itself a sufficient stir.

But the trundling of Scotland Yard around Fleet Street and the veiled hints of proceedings under the Official Secrets Act touched off public feeling to an equal extent.

What, it has been asked, is the Official

Secrets Act? It is a good question, because until one investigates the law on state secrets one has little idea of the breadth of these criminal provisions.

### The penalty

Spying is commonly accepted as a grave criminal offence, and the Official Secrets Act, 1911 (which is the principal act in this branch of law) deals in its first section with this offence. But it is the second section with which the public is likely to become more familiar in the near future. The section is wordy and not unnaturally, therefore, somewhat complex.

Basically, it makes it an offence for anybody to communicate wrongfully any information.

As wide as that? Very nearly, since Section 2 (i) (aa), which was introduced by the 1920 amending Act, states that anyone who held office under Her Majesty or obtained information owing to his position as an office holder or as any employee of such office holder and uses the information in his possession for the benefit of any foreign power or in any other manner prejudicial to the safety or interests of the State, he commits an offence.

The penalty for that offence varies according to the form of the proceeding. If summary proceedings are used, in which case the permission of the Attorney-General is necessary, the penalty is a maximum of three months' imprisonment or a fine not exceeding £50 or both imprisonment and fine.

### Prohibited places

If the charges are by indictment, which means necessarily trial by jury, the punishment is a maximum of two years' imprisonment with no alternative. Even in the case of a prosecution the consent of the Attorney-General must be sought before proceedings can be instituted. But a person charged may be arrested and even remanded in custody notwithstanding no such consent has been obtained.

It was thought at one time, indeed argued in the courts, that any such offence could only be committed in relation to a "prohibited place."

Prohibited places are defined in the Act as any arsenal, naval or air force establishment, or dockyard, camp, ship or aircraft belonging to or occupied by the Crown. The Act also gives power to a Secretary of State to declare any place as "prohibited."

## White and coloured together in the nursery

### From Jone Burgess

THOUSANDS of people, in this age of migrations, have voluntarily, or under compulsion, found themselves set down in unfamiliar and often alien surroundings.

Tensions result and the world will only know peace when these tensions can resolve into harmony.

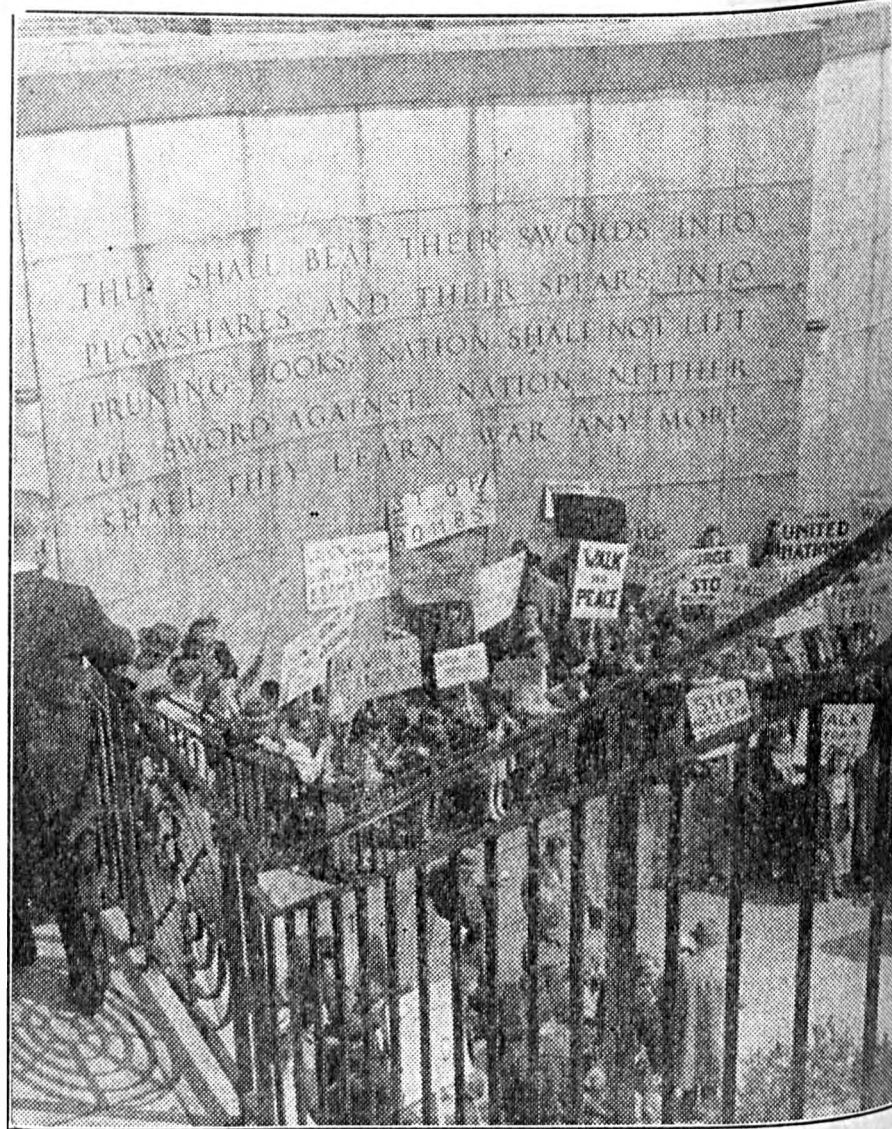
Under the sympathetic and wise guidance of Dorothy Case, Matron of Brixton Day-Nursery, this harmony is already obtaining between the white children in the nursery and the coloured who have been arriving there in increasing numbers during the past five years.

### Brixton mothers' respect

At a meeting of the Peace Pledge Union Education Commission recently Miss Case fascinated her listeners by her stories of her direct approach to the problem of the integration of the white and coloured peoples.

Jamaicans regard this as their mother country and want to be integrated. Miss

## UNDER THE WORDS ON THE WALL OF U.N.



Good Friday morning the US "Walk for Peace" reached its destination, and 700 walkers gathered in New York at the UN building on the walls of which is engraved "They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Orders have been made, for example, in respect of certain properties occupied by the Atomic Energy Authority.

But in fact there is no need to show in the majority of the offences set out that they were committed in any of these prohibited places.

There are also extensive powers, under the 1920 Act and amended in 1939, given to the police to demand that a subject who can furnish information should be made to do so.

The Secretary of State's permission must be sought and if granted any person refusing to furnish the required information is liable to punishment. Where, however, a "chief officer of police has reasonable grounds to believe that the case is one of great emergency and that in the interests

of the State immediate action is necessary" he may act without the Secretary of State's permission so long as he reports forthwith the occasion of such action.

## PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service  
3.30 Sunday 27 April  
32 Tavistock Square, Euston  
Discourse: G. M. Gregory  
"Christian Pacifism Militant"

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## NEWS IN BRIEF

Three students of Manchester University, Terry Davies, Gillian Hopkins and Ian Kane, will put the question "What has Christian Church to say about the Hydrogen Bomb?" in BBC's TV programme, "Meeting Point," on Sunday, April 27.

Probably considerably more radio-activity was released during the Windscale accident than would be during the explosion of an atom bomb of the Hiroshima type concludes the Manchester Guardian from a recent lecture by Sir John Cockcroft.

The Christian Action Council is setting up two study groups: one to deal with the question of what is the Christian ethic in relation to nuclear weapons, irrespective of political considerations, and the other to consider, from the Christian angle, the question of co-existence.

Employment on British defence production fell by nearly 150,000, or roughly 20 per cent, in 1957, states the recent Government Economic Survey.

David Morrish, a British conscientious objector, with experience in the Friends Ambulance Unit, has gone out for one year to work with the United Nations Technical Assistance programme in Iran.

A campaign in support of a resolution "to invite representatives of the people of Cyprus to London immediately for talks about the future of the island on the basis of the implementation of self-determination" has been launched by the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

Thousands came out on strike in Barcelona, Spain, recently. Students are reported to be boycotting lectures.

## OUR MARCH

THIS appeal has to be written before the Peace Pledge Union's 21st A.G.M. has taken place, though you will not read it until another milestone in the journey of the PPU has been passed. I hope it will mean that all will have been encouraged to go forward to proclaim the message of pacifism with greater clarity and urgency than ever.

Pacifists have no doubt that their objective must be nothing less than the total renunciation of the method of war and the complete abandonment of all its weapons. The failure of all attempts to secure even a reduction of armaments by agreement, the dangers inherent in present "defence policy," the recognition that it is war itself which flouts conscience, denying alike the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and not some particular aspect of it, justify the decision of the united pacifist movement in Britain to work for total unilateral and unconditioned disarmament by this country.

There is both our goal and our way of reaching it. Will you help us along the road, first and foremost by your active support for this policy of pacifism, and also by the help and encouragement of generous contributions to the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund? Your contributions do more to encourage and help us at the PPU Headquarters than you may realise, and we can do with all the help and encouragement that you are able to give.

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,200. Amount received to date: £219.

We ought to reach £400 by the end of April if we are not to get behind on our march.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

## Protest demonstration at U.S. missile testing base

A GROUP of US pacifists arrived at Cocoa Beach, Florida, on April 13 to protest at Cape Canaveral against the military uses of rockets and missiles

Plans for their three-day demonstration included picketing at the entrance to Cape Canaveral restricted territory, where the US armed forces assemble and launch their rockets: a seven-mile poster walk in the town of Cocoa Beach and through Patrick Air Force Base, where research and missile testing is done; literature distribution and contact with various leaders in Cocoa and Cocoa Beach.

In a leaflet prepared for the demonstration the group stated "An immense, creative effort is needed to remove the economic, emotional and political causes of war. . . . Non-violence is the practical expression of unconditional love for all human beings. We are prepared to risk our lives, if necessary, rather than betray this principle."

### To talk with the workers

Arthur Harvey, of Fallsington, Pa., speaking for the group, stated: "We want to call the attention of the people who work on inter-continental missiles and atomic-headed rockets, as well as of all Americans who pay for these fiendish weapons with their taxes, to the fact that each one bears personal responsibility for the murderous use of these weapons which will surely come if we continue their manufacture and testing."

Harvey continued: "We intend to try to talk with the workers as they come from their church services on Sunday and as we

meet them on the street. We hope to bring to the attention of the American people the seriousness of this mounting arms race they are supporting."

Among those participating in the Cape Canaveral action are several who joined in the Walk for Peace from Philadelphia to New York, which ended on Good Friday with over 700 marching through the streets of New York to the United Nations to call for cessation of nuclear testing by all nations.

Several members of the group have refused to pay their federal income taxes on the ground that they are used for war and war preparation. Members of the group include:

Sixty-five-year-old Ammon Hennacy of New York, an associate editor of the Catholic Worker, for whom this will be the thirteenth year he has refused to pay his taxes.

Harry Scheirer, a tutor from Philadelphia and clerk of the Unity St. Frankford Quaker meeting, who intentionally keeps his income below taxable level.

### Tax refusing

Mrs. Marjorie Swann, 36, of Trevoze, Pennsylvania, who with her husband, Robert, has been refusing taxes for seven years. Mother of four children, Mrs. Swann was formerly Assistant Director of Peace Education for the Chicago office of the American Friends Service Committee.

Arthur Harvey, 26, of Fallsington, Pennsylvania, is refusing tax payment for the first time this year.

Richard Fichter, dairy farmer of Springville, Pennsylvania, who made national news last November when he walked before the microphone of the \$64,000 Challenge TV programme in New York and appealed to Americans to love God rather than destroy their human kind. Several years ago he was relieved of his Methodist pastorate because of his tax refusal.

Preston Luitweiler, of Limeport, Pennsylvania, and Patricia Parkman, of Washington, DC, are the other members of the group.

Peacemakers, a US movement based on Gandhian principles of non-violence, and the Catholic Worker, a pacifist movement practising voluntary poverty and works of mercy, sponsored the protest project.

## P.M.'s reply evasive say University teachers

THE nuclear disarmament petition signed by 204 senior members of London University drew a reply from the Prime Minister which failed to satisfy the petitioners.

Prof. D. V. Glass, Professor of Sociology at London School of Economics, who initiated the petition, has therefore written again to Mr. Macmillan, protesting that he has not answered the crucial questions they put.

There might be some hope of breaking the deadlock arising from mutual suspicion, he writes, "if the assumption were made . . . that the Soviet Government has some measure of goodwill."

"An assumption," he points out, "is not the same as wishful thinking."

The Government's case, he says, has been made in terms of general assertions, with the use of emotive words which have not helped to clarify the issue.

As a result he and his colleagues have set up a committee of University teachers to study and discuss defence policy in concrete terms.

## In Peace News next week

"Students and the Bomb," by Margaret Tims, is a review of some of the activities in the Universities against nuclear weapons.

## UP AND DOING Old Bacchus

IT was just a little old-world village in those days—Aldermaston I mean. I went to school nearby. We used to go down to the stores there on Saturday afternoon sometimes to buy buns and to look for birds' eggs on the banks of the Kennet. In the next village above the signboard of the solitary inn a tubby, red-faced Bacchus sat on a barrel. We had a rhyme about him I remember—something about "old Bacchus on his barrel looking Aldermaston way."

Times have changed. Today more people and more important people than old Bacchus are looking Aldermaston way. Aldermaston has become the symbol of the revolt against nuclear insanity. The eyes of the world are on it.

Yet it was strange to recall, listening to Stuart Morris on Easter Monday, that a few years ago the same speaker had addressed a protest meeting there of a handful of 25 or 30 people with one or two villagers standing in their doorways. The other week the audience numbered thousands and the Press and radio which had completely ignored the first demonstration gave this one pride of place.

Times have indeed changed. The upsurge of public opinion on this matter is hardly less than revolutionary. Pacifists must seize this opportunity right away if they are to make any worthwhile impression on the country. The time to act is NOW. Order those extra copies of Peace News right away and spread the good tidings.

MICHAEL RANDLE,  
Sales Organiser.

## HOLIDAYS ABROAD

TWO international holiday weeks will be held this summer at the international Mennonite conference centre in Holland. The weeks chosen are July 19—27 and August 23—31, and the programme will include excursions to museums and art galleries. The evenings will be devoted to discussions on peace problems, and to cultural pursuits.

Further details can be had from Heere-wegen, Dreibergseweg 11, Zeist, Holland.

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## Change in France

**T**HE Gaillard Government, having after a difficult struggle agreed on its own makeshift policy on the Tunisian issue which would have permitted a continuation of negotiations on a Murphy-Beeley "good offices" basis, presented it to the Assembly, only to be met with defeat.

The Assembly debate was marked by a strong anti-American temper prompted by the knowledge that President Eisenhower had intimated that when the Tunisian dispute reverted to UN—as in default of agreement it must—the French would not be able to look for US support. The attitude of the Right—which in France seems to include an incredible multiplicity of personalities of the Captain Waterhouse stamp—pointed to a desire to extend the Algerian war into Tunisia. Where the funds for this purpose would come from is a question with which the French Right do not concern themselves. The recent loan negotiated from the US is being rapidly eaten up; and paradoxically the French Chauvinists are the last people disposed to agree to further taxation.

Of all the many post-war government crises in France this is the most serious. Doubtless M. Coty will contrive some kind of ramshackle combination to form a Government. At the time of writing his next choice seems likely to settle on the most unpromising M. Bidault. It is hardly likely that such a government will last more than a week or two in the present situation, and the disaster of the Algerian war will have moved into a new stage of tragedy.

We are doubtless near to some very radical change in the basis and construction of the French Government. There is likely to be a move either to some type of dictatorship or to a Left "popular front" with the Communists. Neither is an attractive prospect; but the present situation is a very unattractive one also.

## Russian march?

**G**ENERALLY speaking, it is of interest to consult the Daily Worker for items of news that may not be covered, or may be played down, in the general Press, balancing this by observing the very frequent items that one may find in the general Press but will look for in vain in the Daily Worker.

Now and again, however, the views of the Worker and the general Press coincide as to what it is better should be glossed over. Last week the five Americans on their way to Moscow to ask Russian citizens and Government to declare for the unconditional abandonment of nuclear arms were mentioned by all the more serious daily newspapers.

The objective of their journey, however, was treated with universal silence, and in this the Worker was at one with its competitors.

Why the main objective of the visit of these five U.S. citizens—to protest against the testing and manufacture of nuclear arms as they have done in their own country—should be ignored by the general Press is not so evident as it is in the case of the Daily Worker.

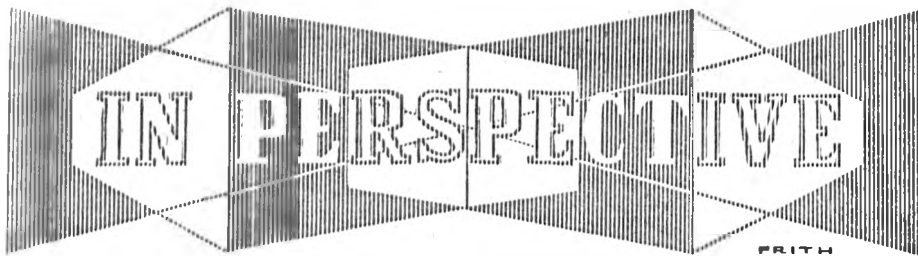
Most of our journalists, as most of our politicians, are unable to break out of the shackles of thinking in military terms, and the unilateral abandonment of nuclear weapons by a Great Power would so change the international situation that it would call for fresh thinking; and fresh thinking is always an uncomfortable exercise.

What the Daily Worker did was to concentrate on the past record of the American team in opposition to U.S. nuclear weapons, carefully omitting to state the team's similar opposition to Russian nuclear weapons.

The Daily Worker, of course, gave very full coverage to the Aldermaston March. It will be careful not to suggest that it could be a very good thing if something similar were to happen in Russia.

## Force enthroned

**H**ELPED by a good deal of preparatory constituency rearrangement, the Nationalists of South Africa have been returned to power with an overwhelming majority in the House of Assembly, although they



represent a minority of the voters and, of course, a trifling proportion of the population.

They now hold 103 seats as compared with 96 at the dissolution. The United Party has 53 seats. The three Liberal candidates who represented dissent from the policy of white racial domination have been defeated, as were the candidates of the Labour Party which held four seats in the last House.

The House consists of 159 seats. The three others are filled by the white representatives of the Cape Coloured voters, who are the only non-European inhabitants of South Africa entitled to vote. These three sit for a period of five years independently of the duration of the Government. They come up for election later this year.

What has been decided by the election is which representatives of some 2½ million white people shall control the destinies of

the whole population including ten million black people.

On the morality of this procedure there is no difference of view as between the Nationalist governing party and the United Party opposition. The only difference is that the United Party claim—at least while in opposition—that they would exercise white domination with less ruthlessness and more humanity. In office they would be likely to discover that in the face of the growing resolve of the non-white races that they shall live as complete human beings, they would be driven to resort to the same degrading methods of brute force as are the Nationalists in the effort to maintain the majority of their neighbours in a situation of permanent social and economic inferiority.

It is likely that the new Government will decide upon a republican form of régime. If it were also to decide that its chosen way of life—apartheid—is not compatible with membership of the British Commonwealth that would be all to the good.

The Nationalist Party has already had two five-year terms of office, and its present victory will thus ensure for it an unbroken period of government of 15 years. It is highly probable that before the new term expires the real political issue to be resolved—whether 2½ million people can keep 10 millions permanently without citizen rights—will have presented itself decisively for settlement.

## Freedom and vote

**T**HE attempt of the African Congress to stage a general strike during the general election proved a failure. The power that lies in the possibility will, however, grow in the minds of the Africans.

Everywhere in the world there is growing the sense that men have it in their own hands to assume or resume the powers of which the politicians are depriving them.

There is, in fact, only a difference in degree in the position of the Africans and the peoples of the developed industrial nations in regard to their deprivation of positive citizenship.

Africans in South Africa are not permitted to vote but are expected to accept their subjection to a Government forced upon them without their consent.

Russians, Hungarians, Rumanians, etc., are permitted to vote, but are allowed no choice in regard to those they are to elect. Their representatives, and their policy, are decided upon for them from above.

British and Americans are permitted to vote and are allowed a choice of persons in casting their votes. They are allowed no choice of policy, however, for the parties seeking their votes come before them with an agreed common policy which is identical on all the most important issues.

In all these cases the people are seeking means for the assertion of their full responsible manhood and are becoming aware that this can only be through some form of direct action. The unenfranchised Africans have the hardest struggle before them, but to a considerable extent the peoples of Europe and America are confronted with a similar problem.

## Conference in Accra

**W**HILE the general election in South Africa was proceeding without the participation of the overwhelming majority of the population, in a hall in Accra a few hundred yards from the prison where he was held by the British seven years ago, Dr. Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana, delivered his opening address to the representatives of eight independent African Governments whose combined peoples total 70 millions.

Dr. Nkrumah urged the African people who had achieved their independence to keep themselves free of the struggle between the two power blocs and to follow a policy of non-alignment. He protested strongly against proposals to use the Sahara as a testing ground for nuclear weapons.

The outstanding happening in the first part of the Conference was a unanimous declaration by the eight governments represented—and these include Ethiopia and the Sudan—in favour of Algerian independence and a commitment to political and diplomatic action to help its achievement.

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3 Blackstock Road  
London, N.4

Tel: STAmford Hill 2262

**PEACE NEWS**

April 25, 1958

Distribution office for U.S.A.

20, S. Twelfth St.,  
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Reg'd as a newspaper. Entered  
as second class matter at  
Post Office, Philadelphia, Pa.

## HERE COME THE H-BOMBERS

**T**HE WEST'S REACTION TO RUSSIA'S CALL for an urgent UN Security Council meeting to consider U.S. H-bombers having frequently taken off for Soviet targets is significant. The reaction clearly shows the psychological barrier which must be penetrated before a secure peace is possible.

Prior to the Security Council session, the U.S. State Department declared that these flights will continue for the protection of peace. Their statement continued that the U.S. Strategic Air Command is an essential method of the free world for discouraging aggression.

It has, said the State Department, done this for the past ten years and can continue to do so only if trained and equipped to overcome any possibility of surprise attack. The U.S. SAC will, therefore, be continued by constant training in a state of advanced preparation.

**A COMPLACENT ASSUMPTION** runs through this pronouncement—as through so many U.S. State Department declarations. It is that whatever military preparations the U.S. makes, the whole world must be convinced that the U.S. cannot possibly be a threat to peace.

The U.S. State Department speaks as if even the Soviet peoples can see that all this U.S. paraphernalia of death contains no threat to them. But the assumption that they must inevitably regard U.S. military preparations as purely pacific was never true. They are only capable of that kind of illusion toward the military preparations of their own Government.

The uncommitted nations also have never shared the U.S. Government's illusion that the righteous intentions it recognises in itself are equally clear to the whole world.

Nowadays there are more and more people, even in the countries whose Governments are committed to U.S. policy, who are developing doubts about the inevitable goodness and wisdom of the policies approved by Mr. Dulles, Dr. Teller, Dr. Libby and Admiral Strauss.

Even those who do not doubt the purity of the motives of these men are beginning to doubt their wisdom. As the News Chronicle has remarked, a system of security that depends on maintaining in the skies so many potential catastrophes leaves a good deal to be desired.

**PUZZLED, THE WEST IS SEARCHING** for the motive behind the Russian reference of the H-bomber matter to the Security Council. Is this step intended to impede the holding of the "Summit" talks? Have the Russians changed their minds about the desirability of such a meeting?

"It is not my purpose," says Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, "to go into the substance of this accusation, which will be discussed at the United Nations, but . . . I do not believe that it will be generally considered to throw a favourable light on their (the Russians') willingness to make progress with preparations for a conference."

Surely, as a basic requirement, a Foreign Secretary should at least be able to try to put himself in the other fellow's shoes.

Mr. Lloyd knows that a fortnight ago it was disclosed from U.S. sources that—not once or twice, but many times—U.S. H-bombers had taken off for Soviet cities because radar signs had been, mistakenly interpreted. These planes had not completed their journey because, on the discovery of the error, safeguarding measures had operated.

**LET MR. LLOYD NOW ASK HIMSELF** how he would react if the disclosure had been rather that Russian H-bombers had many times taken off for London following unidentified radar signs.

Would the British Government not view this as an appropriate matter for consideration by the Security Council? If so, does Mr. Lloyd hold that this view could be only explained by an ulterior desire to sabotage arrangements for "Summit" talks?

One of the things the world most needs today is the jettisoning of the assumption that all international attitudes must be motivated by the waging of psychological warfare.

**COUNTRIES CAN MAKE A GENUINE ADVANCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS ONLY TO THE EXTENT TO WHICH THEY ABANDON THE IDEA OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE.**

Mutual fear and distrust must be overcome; if not, they will destroy us all. The Governments should be preparing for the meeting of the Heads of States, not as for a battlefield in a psychological war, but as for an important essay in co-operation in the removal of suspicions.

If a few of the journalists of the more important newspapers would begin to regard the matter in this light—instead as a continuing opportunity for cleverness in conjectural exercises—it would be a help.



# PPU 21st Annual General Meeting

## "For unconditional disarmament of all weapons of war..."

Peace News Reporter

THE first subject of debate when the Peace Pledge Union's 21st Annual General Meeting settled down to its business session on Saturday was on section nine of the General Secretary's Report. A passage referring to campaigns against nuclear weapons was considered by many members as implying criticism of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

When a debate appeared to be developing following a call for a reference back of the Report by Harry Mister (National



The Mayor opens the AGM.

Council), the Chairman suggested that, since the subject would be discussed the following day, acceptance of that section of the report should be deferred until Sunday. This was agreed, after the General Secretary reminded the meeting that his Report had been prepared before the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament came into existence.

Next came an examination of the PPU's affiliation to the National Peace Council.

### Report on Peace News

The Peace Council was criticised for having Hugh Gaitskill on its platform and commended for running a peace stall at the Schoolboys' Exhibition in 1956 visited by 28,000 schoolboys. A motion of next business left the PPU still affiliated.

Bryan Reed reminded the AGM that there had been no reduction in the number of COs appearing before Tribunals. The work of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors had in no way diminished, even though there was the possibility of an end to conscription. He warned that when the present National Service ended the Government might introduce a new form of Conscription, Selective Service.

Leonard Bird (Hull) drew attention to the victimisation by Tribunals of those young COs who bravely took a stand in demanding unconditional exemption from military service.

They were being struck off the register of COs without a fair hearing, the COs' refusal to undertake alternative service being misinterpreted by the Tribunals as a refusal to render any form of social service.

Hugh Brock, presenting a report on Peace News, thanked the movement for the support given to the paper over the past year.

"Perhaps 1957 will be known as the year when protests against the H-bomb reached a new peak," he reported.

During that year the paper had exclusively published the full text of Dr. Schweitzer's broadcast appeal for a halt to nuclear tests. In the following month

(May) Peace News had done much to make Sir Stephen King-Hall's proposals for an inquiry into the subject of unarmed defence widely known.

"Sir Stephen acknowledges his indebtedness to this work in his introduction to 'Defence in the Nuclear Age,'" Hugh Brock reported.

"There was increasing respect for the paper wherever international affairs and the cause of peace are a subject of study," his report concluded.

In discussion of the paper which followed, there was an appeal for more strip cartoons such as the recently completed "Montgomery Story," also for a "children's corner."

A delegate from Lancashire, a member of a Public Libraries Committee, appealed to readers everywhere to see that the paper was made available in library reading rooms.

There was some criticism of the style and make-up of the paper, but the acclamation with which the report was received seemed to indicate that the meeting was well satisfied with the work of the international organ of pacifism.

The Saturday session closed with the introduction by Stuart Morris of the new declaration of policy and principles, published under the title "What is Pacifism?"

Indicative of the great sense of unity and determination to forward the cause of unilateral British disarmament shown by the meeting was the support which came from the floor for this significant document.

Younger members were particularly enthusiastic. Irene Jacoby (Hull) called it a "wonderful White Paper for peace." Ted Berrow (Alton, Hants) urged local groups to get down to a study of the document. Ron Taylor (Manchester) was "grateful for this manifesto."

### Two resolution

On Sunday morning the meeting welcomed an announcement from the chair that the General Secretary, Stuart Morris, and Harry Mister had found a formula that would secure the passage of the final section of the General Secretary's Report which appeared to be critical of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

Stuart Morris hoped that the meeting as a whole would agree to accept the report, "recognising that Section Nine expresses his personal opinion which is not shared by all members of the PPU."

"That seems to give both points of view a proper place within a fellowship which on the basis of the pledge does allow for a divergence of interpretation."

After the Chairman, Sybil Morrison, had made it clear that the meeting, by accepting the report would not be endorsing the criticism of the "newer campaigns," the meeting passed on to the discussion of two resolutions.

The first declared "that this AGM, recognising that signing the pledge will not alone stop war, endorses the Declaration of Policy and Principles approved by the National Council on Feb. 2, 1958, and National Council of the PPU to make calls on all members of the PPU to make use of the present opportunity by urging the effective renunciation by Britain of the method of war and the acceptance of unconditional unilateral disarmament of all weapons of war."

This was moved by John Wight, a young Quaker from the Alton, Hants, group, an able representative of the many young people now playing an important rôle in the post-war Peace Pledge Union.

Looking to the future of an unarmed Britain he warned the meeting of the problem that would have to be faced in getting rid of the U.S. forces based in Britain. This was a more immediate problem than the likelihood of Russian occupation.

It was a happy combination that brought forward veteran pacifist Minnie Pallister, co-worker with Keir Hardie, to



Alex Comfort, Sybil Morrison, Dr. Niemöller and Minnie Pallister at the public meeting.

second the motion which was passed by an overwhelming majority.

The other motion, moved by Lyonel Evans (Sheldon, Birmingham), declared "that this AGM deplores the lack of inspiration and effectiveness shown in the course of the last few years by the PPU in the cause of achieving world peace and calls upon the National Council and officers to direct their energies towards supporting sympathetic campaigns, believing this to be the most effective way of creating a peaceful world."

Mr. S. V. P. Bray, of King's Heath and Cotteridge, Birmingham, successfully moved to amend the motion so that it read:

"That this AGM calls upon the National Council and officers to direct more of their energies towards supporting sympathetic campaigns believing this to be the most effective way of creating a peaceful world."

There were 174 votes for this resolution and 138 against. The necessary two-thirds majority was not secured to make it effective as a policy motion.

In the debate before the vote Ron Barnes opposed the second motion; he wanted 20 hours a day work in the PPU only.

Frank Dawtry also wanted a concentrated attack on war. He supported the



Stuart Morris is presented with a watch for which members of the PPU subscribed. The AGM had just recorded their appreciation of "his devoted and unselfish service to the Movement since its inception in 1934." The motion, carried by acclamation, was proposed by Sidney Bilson (London), seconded by Geoffrey Tattersall (Yorks), and supported by Anne Belshaw (N. Ireland), Hugh Brock, Editor of Peace News, Harold Bing, Chairman of the War Resisters' International, Bryan Reed, of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, and Dick Darlington of Rugby.

first resolution wholeheartedly, but not the second.

Fred Deutsch drew laughter when he said how sorry he felt for the PPU's officers. "Three years ago we were telling them that they must give all help to Sir Richard Acland and a year later they were being told either that they had given too much or too little, I can't remember now which."

"In things like the Aldermaston March, or the Labour Peace Fellowship or similar organisations there are fine people who go with us some of the way and you can do good pacifist propaganda there." (Loud applause.)

Harold Bing, Chairman of the WRI, welcomed the new Declaration of Principles. "Provided we take it and use it, not just bury it."

Allen Skinner, Associate Editor of Peace News, reminded the movement that its difficulty over recent years had been to get the ear of a concerned public. The PPU had not been alone in that phenomenon; every movement had suffered in this way. Today for the first time for very many years they were beginning to see a concerned public.

"One of our problems today is not the modification of our policy—we want to keep together as tightly as we can as an integral body of pacifists—our problem is to get a concerned audience of people to whom that policy can be presented."

"We should pass the amended second resolution as a statement of the way in which we intend to orientate our work."

"Like Frank Dawtry, I'm not very much impressed when one speaks of sympathetic organisations. The word sympathetic hasn't very much significance. Nearly everybody in the world today can say that they want peace, and in a sense they become sympathetic."

### Aldermaston

"When one speaks in the same terms of the Aldermaston March and the National Peace Council as sympathetic bodies one is completely destroying the meaning of the terms. The NPC is a body which could never as an institution be a pacifist organisation; it is sold to the Labour Party construction; it has got to take a policy that does not cut across the NATO and the SEATO construction. We have to do what we can within that set up."

"What we were seeing develop at Aldermaston was, it was true, not pacifism, but it is something that is a new phenomenon in this country: a willingness to take the unilateral action that pacifists are urging, and in my view, if we don't take the opportunity of stressing what is to be done along unilateral lines and where that policy of unilateral action leads to we shall be missing a great opportunity." (Loud applause.)

Douglas Clarke (PPU Headquarters), opposing the motion, said that the idea of pacifism had got to be propagated. "It is our job to do it."

"I ask you to see that the PPU is not committed to anything else. I think the PPU was in the right place at Aldermaston. It supplied speakers when it was asked to and it supplied accommodation at Dick Sheppard House when it was asked for."

Olwen Battersby (Muswell Hill) recalled that "Gandhi throughout his campaigns said on no account water down the doctrine itself, but leave it to the individual to decide just how far he goes."

Gene Sharp (Peace News) felt that "re-criminations over what has happened over the past are out of place."

"You know, we pacifists are always saying the militarists are always fighting the last war." The danger was that pacifists might do precisely the same.

"I say that the threat to exterminate mankind is a pacifist issue."

"If we don't save mankind there will be nobody left to persuade to be pacifists in fifty years time." (Loud applause.)

"When a movement is ready to use non-violent resistance for a task that calls for the elimination of nuclear weapons in this



# Europeans tighten their grip

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman of the Movement for Colonial Freedom

THESE last few days have been ominous for race relations in Africa. The sweeping victory for Mr. Strydom's Nationalist Party in South Africa; the overthrow of the French Government by the Colonialist extremists on Algeria; the election defeat of Sir Edgar Whitehead, the new Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, by an *apartheid* candidate; and the legal proceedings against seven African elected members of the Kenya Legislature all show that from North to South of the Continent, excluding only the settler free West, the European elements which demand white domination are gaining political control.

The worst feature of the South African elections is the defeat of the two Labour members and the lost deposits of the three Liberal candidates. The past record of the Labour Party, once strong, has not been too good on the racial issue, but in recent years, under the influence of Mrs. Macpherson, outside Parliament, and Mr. Alex Hepple, inside Parliament, it has been outspoken and active in opposing *apartheid*.

It is disheartening that as its attitude on this fundamental issue has improved its electoral strength has decreased. Now it has entirely lost any representation in the Legislature.

## Younger generation

The Liberals, courageous idealists though without a clear social and economic programme, have gathered a mere handful of votes. They still have two Members elected not by the whites, who have a monopoly of votes everywhere else, but as "native representatives" returned by the Coloured (mixed race) population in the Cape Province. Even this limited voting power by non-white people is now to be ended. This is the last time they will be allowed to vote.

The United Party, timid and compromising, representing industrialists who endorse *apartheid* but do not want it to be pressed to extremes because of their need for cheap African labour, have also lost seats heavily to the Nationalists. Particularly disturbing is the indication that the younger generation from homes of English origin are turning towards the most stern forms of *apartheid*. Traditionally the Nationalist Party has represented the Dutch Whites, the Boers, the Afrikaaners, the farming community, whilst the United Party has reflected the English urban settlers.

Now, however, even in Natal where the English-speaking electorate are a majority there has been a startling increase in the Nationalist vote, and it has come from the new young English electorate.

In most communities, the younger generation are progressive. It is an alarming fact that among the European settlers in Africa the sons and daughters of the original white immigrants tend to become the most rigid in the practice of racial exclusiveness.

## Strike failed

They have grown up in a society where all the manual service which makes life comfortable for them has been given by Africans who are treated as outside the pale of civilisation. With such an attitude among the new generation the prospect for the future is dark indeed.

In the background of this poll of white opinion in South Africa are the millions of Africans and thousands of Indians and "coloured" people who had no opportunity of political expression.

The "stay-at-home" strike called by the African National Congress failed. This

may have been due partly to a realisation that such a demonstration would only strengthen Nationalist support, but it was also due to the fact that Africans are so badly paid that they cannot afford to be absent from work. A representative African workers Conference has recently demanded a minimum wage of £1 a day and this claim is being taken up enthusiastically throughout the Union.

## Towards Fascism

The contrast is shown by the Report, just published, by the South African Bureau of Census and Statistics on the incomes of the white population in ten principal urban areas. This shows that the average yearly income of a white family is £1,385. Even in the families of manual white workers the average is £1,083 per annum.

The defeat of the Gaillard Government in France on the Algerian issue is another step towards Fascism in France. The President's first approach for a new Prime Minister was to M. Soustelle, the foremost de Gaullist, and he and his associates are putting forward the name of General de Gaulle as the "saviour" of France. This is an indication of how concentrated imperialism abroad leads also to reaction at home.

The trend towards white racialism in Southern Rhodesia is dramatically illustrated by the defeat of Sir Edgar Whitehead in the by-election which was intended to facilitate his transference from Ambassador in the United States to the Premiership.

He was recalled to replace Mr. Garfield Todd whose attitude towards the Africans was regarded as too liberal. Now he has been rejected by an overwhelmingly white electorate, in what was regarded as a safe seat, by the candidate of the Party which looks to the Union of South Africa as its model. This is not reassuring for the General Election which will come within a few months.

## Mboya charged

Finally, there is the disastrous development in Kenya. Mr. Tom Mboya and his colleagues are being charged with intimidation because they have said that Africans who stand for election, not by the people, but by the European-dominated Legislative Council, should be regarded as stooges, "black Europeans," and traitors and should be socially boycotted.

This is strong language, but it has been equalled in English politics without any suggestion of legal proceedings. The effect of such proceedings can only be to intensify racial antagonisms.

I am glad to say that the reaction in the British Labour Party has been strong. An attempt was made to raise the matter immediately in Parliament by a Private Notice Question, but this was disallowed. The Party has now asked for a day's Debate next week.

This dark picture emphasises the significance of the Conference of representatives of the eight independent African States at Accra. The speech with which Dr. Nkrumah opened the discussions indicated the self-reliance which has grown among the African peoples.

The delegates at Accra have made clear that independent Africa—as well as the Africa which is moving towards independence against the formidable odds I have described, has a united voice in claiming liberation for the whole Continent and the right to ally itself with the peoples of India, the Middle East and Asia in the cause of peace.

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FOOTNOTE. The Joint Committee of African Organisations in London has opened a Defence Fund for the seven Africans to be tried in Kenya. Contributions can be sent to the Movement for Colonial Freedom, 374 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

# "Never have I seen such human wretchedness"



—says message from an experienced relief worker.

We are sending regular help to the refugees in Korea, Hong Kong, the Near East and Europe—now this urgent plea has come from North Africa. On-the-spot relief workers report that refugees from Algeria, particularly women and children, continue to arrive in Tunisia and Morocco. They bring little with them, and the children in particular are suffering from lack of food and clothing.

Please help by sending your gift NOW.

£1 provides 10 pints of olive oil (an essential item in the refugees' diet).

£5 purchases and ships 10 good warm blankets.

Send to: Pax Relief, Barclays Bank Ltd., Old Bank, High Street, Oxford.

OXFORD COMMITTEE FOR

## FAMINE RELIEF

(Regd. War Charities Act, 1940)

There is an urgent need for Discarded Clothing  
Send to Oxford/Pax Relief, c/o Davies, Turner & Co., 50a, Bourne Street, London, S.W.1.

## LETTERS

### Aldermaston March

ALL who worked to prepare and help the Aldermaston March deserve our thanks for the inspiring idea and for its splendid organisation.

There is some quality about marches and pilgrimages which almost defies definition.

In walking the road to Aldermaston, each marcher gave expression both to his individual responsibility and to the over-all unity of purpose in a more positive way than by the intellectual consent given at an ordinary gathering. Combined with the wide opportunities for public witness and the certain effort and control needed, progress along the road really seemed to have some relation to progress towards the end to be achieved.

We shall win—but the campaign is only beginning, and the victory of good over evil will not be easy. Like those few who stood in silent vigil at Aldermaston, we must watch and not relax. Insofar as our means are enlightened and non-violent whatever the provocation or calumny, we shall achieve our goal with every step we take—not only at the end of the road.

The only enemy is evil. Our only weapon is intelligent goodness in action. Sacrifice is the key by which a door may be opened for others leading from nuclear death to abundant life.

In the cheering words of the Wessex marchers' greeting: "The dark night is over!" Now we must march on until we come into the full light of day.—JOHN H. JONES 26a Powis Square, London, W.11.

### The Spandau prisoners

THERE has been much talk recently about those three lonely men at Spandau jail, whether they should be released or not.

The costs are very heavy indeed. Imagine such an institution with but three inmates! Their fate is not an easy one. Conditions in that prison are much harder than in any other, to my knowledge. I have been a prison officer in Berlin myself, until recently, though not in that prison.

But I know that hardships that have been abolished everywhere many years ago are still applied to those three men, especially as regards family visits, correspondence, etc.

They have been called by numbers until recently, instead of their names, a practice which long ago stopped in other German prisons. They have been subject to many humiliations which other common prisoners never come to know.

They are guilty, of course. They have enjoyed the privileges of Power, of nearly unlimited Power, and now they have to pay for it. I think they have paid heavily.

They are not more guilty than others. Speer, once Minister for armaments, at least has atoned, in a certain way, for what he had done previously, by resisting Hitler at the end of the war. Others who have committed abominable acts of cruelty against innocent Jews and defenceless prisoners of war, have been given slight sentences since, which often have aroused bitter indignation amongst the fellow-victims who were lucky to survive.

But those often scandalous sentences against cruel men should not influence our attitude against these three men, sentenced at Nuremberg when general excitement against the Hitler régime was still at its highest.

It is unfair to keep these men longer in jail just because they happen to be imprisoned while many others who fully consented in their time to all that Hitler and these men did are now in government positions with much influence, never having been called to justice at all.

I think it is time they were sent home.—HEINZ KRASCHUTZKI\*, Berlin.

\*The writer spent nine years in a Spanish prison after being charged with high treason in Germany, having exposed his country's re-armament plans.

### Youth group formed

A PACIFIST Youth Action Group has been formed in the West Riding of Yorkshire, with members from several pacifist groups and individual members.

Discussions on the various aspects of pacifism are to be arranged starting with one on non-violence, and it is hoped that the group might soon start public action.—RONALD M. TAYLOR, 5 Norman Terrace, Leeds, 8.

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE

6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1



# DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. a.m. 2.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

**Friday, April 25**  
**CAMBRIDGE:** (Evening-time to be fixed). Small Guildhall. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament: Public Meeting. Speakers: Miles Malleon, Kingsley Martin, Philip Toynbee.

**LONDON, S.W.18:** 7.30 p.m.; 13 Elsenham St. Southfields (bus 39, Southfields Und. Stn.): The Vedanta Movement. Fortnightly talk by Swami Ayakandananda on Vedanta, Christianity and Spiritual Communism: "The Two Blocs and Peace."

**LONDON, S.E.6:** 7.45 p.m.; Lewisham Town Hall, Catford. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament: Public Meeting. Speakers: Mervyn Jones, Dr. Nicholas Malleon.

**LONDON, W.2:** 8.30 p.m.; 62 Queen's Gardens. "The Bhodan Movement in Asia." Speaker: Shri Jayaprakash Narayan. All welcome. Fellowship of the Friends of Truth, and Indian Institute of World Culture.

**UXBRIDGE:** 7.45 p.m.; Central Hall, Yiewsley. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament: Public Meeting. Speakers: Frank Beswick, MP, Rev. Howard Booth, Dr. Donald Soper.

**LEEDS:** 7.30 p.m.; Friends' Meeting House (behind BBC). Pacifist Youth Action Group: Musical evening. PPU.

**LONDON, E:** 7.15 p.m.; The Friends' Meeting House, Bush Rd., Leytonstone. Annual Reunion Concert and Bring and Buy Sale. E.10 and E.11 PPU Group.

**LONDON, W.C.2:** 7.30 p.m.; Kingsway Hall (Room 31). Public Meeting: "Peace and Socialism." Speakers: Bob Walsh and Pat Deighan (ex-Labour Borough Councillors). Fellowship Party.

**NOTTINGHAM:** Market Square. All-day public meeting (11.30 a.m. onwards). Volunteers needed for leaflet distribution and PN selling.

**Sunday, April 27**  
**LONDON, W.C.1:** 3.30 p.m.; 32 Tavistock Sq., Euston. Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse: George M. Gregory—"Christian Pacifism Militant."

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 3 p.m.; Lounge, Ivanhoe Hotel, 61 Russell St. Fifth lecture in "Non-violence and Social Change" series: "Mass Movements as an Answer to the directionless Society." Gene Sharp, MA. Free admission; collection. The 1957 Committee.

**Monday, April 28**  
**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m.; Wanstead House, The Green, Wanstead. "Nuclear War: The Civilian's Role." Open forum, with local speakers on scientific, medical, C.D. and economic aspects. Woodford and District Peace Committee.

**Tuesday, April 29**  
**HIGHBURY:** 8 p.m.; Quadrant School. Public Meeting with well-known speakers. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

**LONDON, W.C.2:** 6.30 p.m.; Friends' International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. No Conscriptio Council—AGM, Business Meeting. 7.30 p.m., Public Meeting. Speakers: James Hudson, George Craddock, MP. All welcome.

**Wednesday, April 30**  
**LONDON, N.W.1:** 7.30 p.m.; Friends' House, Euston Rd. 50th Anniversary Meeting. National Peace Council: "Planning for Peace Today."

**Speakers:** Hugh Gaitskill, MP, Dr. Rita Hinden, Jayaprakash Narayan, Reginald Sorensen, MP, Dr. Donald Soper, V. Gerald Bailey. Admission free. reserved tickets 1s. N.P.C., 29 Gt. James St., W.C.1.

**UPMINSSTER:** 8 p.m.; Windmill Hall (near The Bell). Public Meeting on Nuclear Disarmament. Speaker: Alex Comfort, Chairman: Rev. Peter Thompson. Hornchurch "Way to Peace" Group. Secretary, Ron Montague, 52 Fleet Ave., UPMINSSTER, Essex.

**Thursday, May 1**  
**LONDON, E:** 8 p.m.; Friends' Meeting House, Bush Rd., Leytonstone. "Russia's Economic Development." Speaker: Elsie Pracy, BSc. E.10 and E.11 PPU Group.

**LONDON, N.W.1:** 6 p.m.; Friends House, Euston Road. Open Meeting. Speaker: Horace G. Alexander, on his recent experiences in India. All Friends and attenders welcome.

**Friday, May 2**  
**ABERYSTWYTH:** 7 p.m.; King's Hall. Public Meeting: "The Implications of Nuclear Weapons for Britain." Speakers: Lord Russell, O.M., F.R.S., Prof. J. Rothblat, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., Lt.-Col. P. Davie, B.A., D.S.O., D.L., Principal Rev. Pennar Mansel Davies, B.Litt., Ph.D. Tickets 2s., from Dr. Mansel Davies, Tallan, Stanley Road.

**LONDON, W.4:** 7.45 p.m.; Chiswick Town Hall. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Public Meeting. Speakers: Miles Malleon, James Cameron, D. G. Arnott. Chairman: Reginald Redman.

**Saturday, May 3**  
**EXETER:** 7.30 p.m.; Civic Hall, Queen St. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Public Meeting. Speakers: Sir Richard Acland, John Foot, Catherine Williamson, May Kelly. Chairman: The Rev. K. Richardson.

**Sunday, May 4**  
**LONDON, W.C.1:** 3 p.m.; Tudor Room, Shaftesbury Hotel, Monmouth St. Sixth Lecture in "Non-violence and Social Change" series: "The emergent philosophy: non-violent revolution." Gene Sharp, MA. Free admission; collection. The 1957 Committee.

**Thursday, May 8**  
**LONDON, E.8:** 8 p.m.; Hackney Town Hall. Public Meeting. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Speakers: The Mayor of Hackney, Alderman B. Cohen, JP, H. W. Butler, JP, MP, James Cameron, Canon L. J. Collins, Rabbi Andre Unger and K. Ziliacus, MP.

**Friday, May 9**  
**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends' Mts. Ho., Bush Rd. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq. Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

**BIRMINGHAM:** 5 p.m. onwards; Bull Street Meeting House (fourth floor) Peace News Selling.

## The West and Russia

KENNETH INGRAM reviews

A History of Anglo-Soviet Relations. Vol. II. By W. P. and Z. K. Coates. Lawrence & Wishart, 37s. 6d.

THIS is the second volume of a series and covers the years 1943 to 1950, thus including the latter period of the war—with the ostensibly friendly relations between the West and the Soviet Union in military alliance—and the deterioration of those relations in the Cold War.

As was the case with its predecessor, this is a well documented book, useful particularly for reference purposes.

What distinguishes a history from a work of propaganda? A historian is entitled to interpret his record and thus in some degree to interpolate his own opinions; a purely colourless account would fail to hold the attention of the average reader. But this work is crudely propagandist, with the result that the reader will soon detect that its primary aim is to defend Soviet policy rather than to present an objective and balanced description of events and their causes.

The propagandist differs from the historian in as much as he writes and thinks exclusively in terms of all-white and all-black. Throughout these 427 pages I have been unable to discover a single admission that the Soviet Union was in any way to blame. Thus, "Czechoslovakia at first accepted the invitation (to join in the Marshall Plan) but later withdrew her acceptance" (p. 266): not a suggestion that her change of mind was due to Soviet pressure!

The upheaval in Czechoslovakia in 1948 was "a very quiet constitutional coup d'etat" (p. 278): no mention, and therefore no explanation, of Jan Masaryk's suicide. "Since 1924 there have, of course, been modifications in the details of prison

## Yugoslav Communism

Hubert Butler reviews

The Triumphant Heretic, by Ernst Halperin. Heinemann 30s.

MR. HALPERIN'S book is an admirable summary of Yugoslav Communism. It is tough reading, because he is no great stylist, and the Yugoslav leaders, even when, like Djilas, they shed their Marxism adhere to its portentous phraseology. Indeed, Djilas, Mr. Halperin's hero, is among the worst.

They all flounder ineptly between tremendous generalities and the trivial particularities which illustrate them, between the "liquidation of ideological monopolies" and the snobbish boycott of Colonel Dapchevich's actress wife by the great ladies of the government.

Perhaps there is a reason for their rather boorish inflexibility and their social awkwardness. Mr. Halperin reminds us how often, in times of crisis, primitive peasants have surged down from the barren mountains of Bosnia and Montenegro and dominated the more urbane and easy-going lowlanders. They came down to fight the Turk, the Austrian, the Nazi, the capitalist. Only the unambitious go home again. Djilas was one of many Montenegrin heroes, who educated themselves slowly by governing their more polished compatriots. What a good education it was, but how costly to the community, Mr. Halperin's book reveals.

He shows how the Yugoslavs by devious ways emancipated themselves from Soviet Communism and how they feel the attraction of decentralised administration, regional liberties, self-governing factories, but how Djilas alone recognised long ago that the road to this promised land was more like an anarchist than a Marxist paradise.

The control of the Communist party, he declared, must be destroyed. But in his isolation he lost confidence in himself. He failed, but Mr. Halperin thinks that the last word has not yet been said.

"The man, whom events have proved right, is Milovan Djilas, behind whom stands no party machine, no police and no army, and who is still sitting deserted and proscribed in a Yugoslav prison cell."

treatment (in USSR), but it is still based on the same humane principles" (p. 375). These are a few random examples of the tone of the book.

This volume could have served a useful purpose in confronting those whose emotional prejudices lead them to condemn Russia on every count, for many of its criticisms of the West and justifications of the Soviet Union are amply proved by the evidence which has been assembled in these pages with such painstaking accuracy, but the pity of it is that this purpose is defeated by the entirely one-sided presentation of the controversy as a whole. No serious observer is going to be persuaded that both parties are not comparatively guilty in this unhappy controversy, and this fact Mr. and Mrs. Coates are apparently unable to appreciate.

## Discoverer of radium

Madame Curie, by Eve Curie. Heinemann 16s.

THIS is a reprint of a book first published in 1939: the story by one of her daughters of the Polish girl Manya Sklodowska who, with her husband Pierre Curie, discovered radium and its magical powers.

The authoress says that she has not related a single anecdote of which she is not sure, has not deformed a single essential phrase, has not so much as invented the colour of a dress, to heighten the effect of the story: it is so like a myth that "it would have been a crime to add the slightest ornament."

Those who have not read the account of Mme. Curie's life may take this opportunity of doing so. She was a great and devoted genius. The list of her prizes, medals, decorations and honorary titles occupies more than six pages of this book, yet Einstein said of her "Marie Curie is, of all celebrated beings, the only one whom fame has not corrupted."

T. R. D.

## Alternative civilian service

"THE NOTEBOOK" is back again, having yielded its space for some weeks to the Montgomery Story.

It is perhaps fitting to follow that inspiring account of pacifism in action with a note that the latest issue of the War Resister (1s. 3d. from WRI, 88, Park Ave., Enfield, Middlesex) provides a very frank discussion on the subject of whether conscientious objectors should accept alternative civilian service when refusing to serve in the armed forces.

"Legal recognition is not a pacifist victory at all. Compulsory service should be refused," writes Albert Baas, of Holland.

## War resister pianist

DISTINGUISHED pianist and war resister, Frank Merrick (he serves the movement both on the concert and the pacifist platform), is the author of "Practising the Piano," published this month by Rockliff (25s.).

He gave his first London recital in 1903 and started teaching in the Royal Manchester College of Music in 1911. The book is therefore written out of a wealth of teaching experience.

THE EDITOR.

April 25, 1958—PEACE NEWS—7

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## Labour and the H-bomb

★ FROM  
PAGE ONE

applies not only to American Foreign policy; it applies equally to that of the Labour Party.

The policy of Ernest Bevin has become unfrozen and the Labour Party has been forced to think again. But the Labour Party policy has not been unfrozen yet.

### Risk an H-ban

It is interesting to read the reports of the Regional Conferences at which members of the Labour Party Executive and the TUC and prominent MPs are explaining to the rank and file the new statement on Party Policy, entitled "Disarmament and Nuclear War."

"WE MUST RISK an H-Ban" ran the headline of the Daily Herald report of one of these conferences held at Manchester last Saturday. It was addressed by Mr. Dick Crossman. I have heard and read so many different views that Dick Crossman has expressed on the H-bomb that I turned with interest to see which one he was advocating at Manchester. The opening paragraph began:

"Giving up nuclear weapon tests is a military risk we should be prepared to take for peace."

So Dick Crossman believes we should take the military risk of a step which is of course unilateral.

The Labour Party Executive, which formerly repudiated any step which implied unilateral disarmament (this was essentially what Sam Watson said in replying to debates on disarmament at a Labour Party Conference), now declares in favour of unilateral ending of H-bomb tests until the Summit Conference.

Now the logic of this is inescapable. If you believe in the H-bomb as a weapon or as a deterrent or as a bargaining counter, how can you logically object to its being tested?

### The logic of it

Clearly, if you oppose testing the H-bomb, you should be against the manufacture of the H-bomb altogether.

But Mr. Crossman is presumably in favour of the manufacture of the H-bomb. If we were "to opt out of it, we should lose influence in the world."

Is our influence in the world to depend on whether or not we possess H-bombs which we are prepared to manufacture but not to test? The scientists who made the bombs might say: "We do not know how these bombs will explode or whether they will explode at all unless they are tested." Which is presumably why the tests are being held.

At some international conference, when a Labour Government arrives, will a British Foreign Secretary be in such a strong position to bargain if he is able to say: "We have stocks of the most up-to-date H-bombs which, however, we have not tested?"

### Do we ban production?

Mr. Aneurin Bevan, speaking at Brighton, explained that suspension of tests meant meant suspension of manufacture, too. He said:

"May I repeat again that the suspension of tests means suspension of production, and in the atmosphere created by it we would try to proceed to further stages by agreement with the Soviet Union and the United States."

But the suspension of production of H-bombs is not mentioned in the Labour Party Declaration.

What it says is:

"Further, we consider that, as an example, the British Government should at once suspend thermo-nuclear tests unilaterally for a limited period in the hope that this will hasten permanent international agreement on tests and lead on to a general disarmament convention."

There is nothing in this about suspending the manufacture of H-bombs. This appeared to be Mr. Bevan's view.

Is it Mr. Gaitskill's view too? Is it the view of Mr. George Brown, Labour's Shadow Defence Minister, or that of Mr. John Strachey, the Labour Shadow Secretary for War?

The final paragraph of the report of Crossman's speech in the "Daily Herald" reads:

"Answering delegates who urged uni-

lateral disarmament, Mr. Crossman said: 'We should lose the election—and the power we should have for peace if we had won it.'"

This is the usual attempt to win over a Labour Party Conference to ambiguity.

### Would Labour lose?

Having declared for unilateral suspension of tests, the delegates are told that if the Labour Party stood for unilateral disarmament it would lose the election!

Having accepted the idea of unilateral disarmament on the question of tests, Mr. Crossman then proceeds to denounce it for purely opportunist, political reasons, which are not based on any evidence.

Why does the Labour Party think that, given a strong lead, the people of this country would not vote for banning the H-bomb as they are to vote for banning the tests? Are the people of this country so enthusiastic about the H-bomb?

I can give my own experience. At the last election I devoted much of my time to stating the case against the H-bomb and conscription. It did not result in my losing votes. While Labour majorities in other constituencies went down, my majority went up.

If the result in other Labour constituencies had been the same as it was in South Ayrshire, Labour would have won the last General Election, not lost it.

The Labour Party has nothing to lose by taking a strong line against the H-bomb and all that it implies.

On the other hand, by hedging and temporising it is more likely to lose the enthusiasm of the young and the people who have turned against the Tories, but have become cynical and luke-warm and indifferent about the Labour Party.

## PPU meeting

● FROM  
PAGE FIVE

country and the world, this deserves the support of pacifist organisations." (Loud applause.)

Francis Tonks (Brighton): "What we are really concerned about is should we of the PPU support this Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and how far should we go." It was distressing that the Friends Peace Committee and their field worker should be supporting the Campaign up and down the country while the PPU appeared to be dragging its feet.

"I think the people who are concerned about nuclear weapons are concerned about armaments generally. I'm certain that that movement, if it were successful against nuclear armaments, could be brought on to accepting general disarmament."

Bernard Rushton: "Our job is to ask people to refuse to support war."

Closing the business session, Sybil Morrison thanked the movement for her re-election as National Chairman.

The H-bomb was undoubtedly a challenge and a dilemma to the pacifist movement. When the bomb first came into existence there were people who said to the pacifists: "You need not any longer do any work. It has been done for you. The H-bomb is here and will deter a war."

"Now I believe it is possible," Sybil Morrison continued, "that it may deter a nuclear war, unless, of course, everyone has gone mad, but it is perfectly clear that it will not deter all war and that we have still got our job to do."

Any nation would be able to make nuclear weapons in the future if they wanted to—even after nuclear disarmament.

While wishing to encourage those who are working in order that there should be unilateral action in this country on a particular issue, she wished to let them know that "those of us who are working at headquarters believe in the absolute necessity for what has become known as a hard core."

"Go back to your groups and tell them that this was a good Annual General Meeting with good tolerance and co-operation and understanding, one of the best that I have been at."

On Saturday the meeting marched through the West-End of London with torches lighting up posters declaring "War—we say no. Total peace—we say yes."

## SYBIL MORRISON REPLIES TO AIR MARSHAL GIBBS

The following letter from Air Marshal Sir Gerald Gibbs appeared in the Daily Telegraph on April 15:

ABOVE the tramp of feet on the road to Aldermaston and the discordant shouts of "Ban the Bomb," "Stop the Tests," "Trust Khrushchev," &c., was heard occasionally the sincere though misguided cry of the absolute pacifist, and it could be heard again at the Labour and T.U.C. demonstration in Trafalgar Square.

There are always these few people who prefer the alternative of being enslaved to that of fighting to keep their freedom.

That is the eternal choice before mankind, and in the 20th century an overwhelming majority still say: "Give me liberty or give me death."

There was no need for Britain to fight against Germany in World War I if we were prepared to permit our Allies, our Empire and ourselves to be submerged by the Kaiser's invading legions; but we preferred to defend our liberty. There was no need to fight against Hitler's Germany in World War II if we were prepared to see ourselves and the rest of the world go under the Nazi dictatorship, with its police State, its persecutions, its Belsen and Dachau, its tortures and its gas chambers.

There was no need for the Hungarians to rise against their Communist oppressors if they were satisfied to remain as slaves.

And there is no need for us to keep the H-bomb as a deterrent against Communist attack and occupation if we are prepared to see our homes and our families, and all that we hold dear, defenceless against the marauding European and Asiatic hordes.

Those who argue that such would be an acceptable situation can have little imagination of that living death—every activity

brutally controlled by Serov's secret police, the midnight knock at the door, the mass executions without trial, the deportation to forced labour of countless young men and women—as recently in Hungary—the bitter want of the exploited remaining population.

And still the threat of H-bomb attack would exist as a final weapon to quell any revolt among us. There is no limit to what a terrorist régime will do to those who cannot hit back and have no friends. Britain has been so long free that we have little understanding of what real terrorism can be.

But the pacifists will argue: "Dictator régimes don't last for ever; it may take several generations but in the end freedom prevails again." Maybe, but the people of this country are not going to lean back on the comforting academic theory that freedom would return in the year 2100.

What they are vitally concerned with is keeping our cherished liberty now, and that of our children's children.

The maintenance of this ancient liberty of ours is not helped by those few marchers and others who—with the open support of the Communist party—advocate "banning the bomb," &c. That is playing the Russians' game.

The Russians are typical oriental bargain-basementers, and if—misled by our vociferous few—they judge that we are weakening our policy of maintaining the nuclear deterrent against attack, their attitude will harden and then there will be no prospect of a reliable agreement (with the safeguards against Communist bad faith which my experience has shown that we must have) to reduce tension between East and West and to give us peace and freedom in our time.

### Sybil Morrison replies:

#### AIR MARSHAL SIR GERALD

GIBBS states his case against pacifism with a wonderful mixture of half-truths and false assumptions. To begin with, he postulates a pacifist "either-or," which is based on a false assumption as to the pacifist position, since it assumes circumstances in which there is no choice other than "enslavement" or "fighting for freedom."

Pacifism is a doctrine of war renunciation, which involves resistance to the evil of tyranny as well as to war, by refusal to co-operate with it.

In making his assertion Sir Gerald assumes that all wars are fought to preserve freedom and that freedom can, in fact, be preserved, or won, by fighting wars.

This, of course, is to pre-suppose victory, which makes the slogan "Death or Liberty" the merest rhetoric, since it is perfectly possible, as the Hungarians know, to be enslaved and live. War is a gamble in human lives which may, or may not, have the result which Sir Gerald desires.

Another assumption is that the two world wars were fought simply to preserve British freedom. In fact, it was not so much the Kaiser's desire for expansion which led to the 1914 war, as Britain's standing objection to the acquisition of colonies by any other country. When Britain built her first Dreadnought as far back as 1909 she started an armaments race which had the inevitable consequence of all races in arms—war.

The generation which was slaughtered in that war had for its slogan, not British freedom, but freedom from war; it was to be a war to end wars, and we all know now of its colossal failure to achieve that freedom.

In fact, in the end, it begot another war. The defeat of Germany not only swept away the monarchy and plunged Germany into a system she was not ready for, but resulted in a Peace Treaty which all Germany thought unfair, and paved the way to the rise of Hitler. It would be interesting to know what Poland thinks of the effort to secure her freedom by the second world war.

If Sir Gerald believes that people should always fight for liberty, it must be assumed that he would have thought right for India to have taken up arms against Britain in their struggle for self-determination.

Fortunately Gandhi believed otherwise and though his civil disobedience campaign did not meet with the same degree of violence and brutality as displayed by the Hitler and Stalin régimes, nevertheless, thousands of his followers were imprisoned for years in British prisons and concentration camps in Britain and abroad, and he endeavoured to suppress that struggle for freedom.

The non-violent effort in Hungary might have been successful if the general strike at the end of the rebellion had been a united movement based upon a moral conviction, instead of a spasmodic second best to previous violent action. Even so, it was very nearly successful, but, as is "might" has overcome "right," and the so-called nuclear deterrent had the power to deter Russia.

Reliance upon the method of war has proved to be abortive to prevent tyranny and has brought mankind to the edge of an abyss in which the whole human race may meet with destruction.

Peace and freedom have not been won by wars; it is surely worth trying a new way which requires just as much fortitude and courage as the way of war, and the qualities which the British people have never lacked.

### Presentation to Stuart Morrison

To the Editor

WILL you allow me to use your column to express my very warm thanks to all the groups and individuals who shared in the presentation to me at the 21st AGM. And may I ask them to forgive me if I do not write personally to everybody? I want all my friends to know how much I appreciate their generosity, and how much I value their affection. STUART MORRIS, Secretary, Peace Pledge Union, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Square, London, W.C.1.

Published by Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4, and Printed in Great Britain by & Cook Ltd., 135 Fonthill Road, N.W.



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